

VOTER REGISTRATION ACT

FEBRUARY 5, 1974.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. HAYS, from the Committee on House Administration.
submitted the following

REPORT

together with

MINORITY VIEWS and ADDITIONAL VIEWS

[To accompany H.R. 8053]

The Committee on House Administration, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 8053) to amend title 13, United States Code, to establish within the Bureau of the Census a Voter Registration Administration for the purpose of administering a voter registration program through the Postal Service, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with amendments and recommend that the bill as amended do pass.

The amendments are as follows:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

That this Act may be cited as the "Voter Registration Act".

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 2. As used in this Act—

(1) the term "Administration" means the Voter Registration Administration;

(2) the term "State" means each State of the United States, the political subdivisions of each State, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and the District of Columbia;

(3) the term "Federal office" means the office of the President, the Vice President, an elector for President and Vice President, a Senator, a Representative, or a Delegate to the Congress;

(4) the term "Federal election" means any biennial or quadrennial primary or general election and any special election held for the purpose of nominating or electing candidates for any Federal office, including any election held for the purpose of expressing voter preference for the nomination of individuals for election to the office of President and any election held for the purpose of selecting delegates to a national political party nominating convention or

to a caucus held for the purpose of selecting delegates to such a convention;

(5) the term "State election" means any election other than a Federal election; and

(6) the term "State official" means any individual who acts as an official or agent of a government of a State or political subdivision thereof to register qualified electors, or to conduct or supervise any Federal election in a State.

ESTABLISHMENT OF ADMINISTRATION

SEC. 3. (a) There is established within the General Accounting Office, the Voter Registration Administration.

(b) The President shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, an Administrator and two Associate Administrators for terms of four years each, who may continue in office until a successor is qualified. An individual appointed to fill a vacancy shall serve the remainder of the term to which his predecessor was appointed. The Associate Administrators shall not be members of the same political party. The Administrator shall be the chief executive officer of the Administration.

DUTIES AND POWERS

SEC. 4. The Administration shall—

(1) establish and administer a voter registration program in accordance with this Act for all Federal elections;

(2) collect, analyze, and arrange for the publication and sale by the Government Printing Office of information concerning elections in the United States (but this publication shall not disclose any information which permits the identification of individual voters);

(3) provide assistance to State officials concerning voter registration-by-mail and election problems generally;

(4) obtain facilities and supplies and appoint and fix the pay of officers and employees, as may be necessary to permit the Administration to carry out its duties and powers under this Act, and such officers and employees shall be in the competitive service under title 5, United States Code;

(5) appoint and fix the pay of experts and consultants for temporary services as authorized under section 3109 of title 5, United States Code;

(6) provide the Congress with such information as the Congress may from time to time request, and prepare and submit to the President and the Congress a report on its activities, and on voter registration and elections generally in the United States, immediately following each biennial general Federal election; and

(7) take such other action as it deems necessary and proper to carry out its duties and powers under this Act.

QUALIFICATIONS AND PROCEDURE

SEC. 5. (a) An individual who fulfills the requirements to be a qualified voter under State law and who is registered to vote under the provisions of this Act shall be entitled to vote in Federal elections in that State, except that each State shall provide for the registration or other means of qualification of all residents of such State who apply, not later than thirty days immediately prior to any Federal election, for registration or qualification to vote in such election.

(b) Whenever a Federal election is held in any State, the Administration may, upon the request of any State official, furnish officers and employees and such other assistance as the Administration and the State official may agree upon to assist State officials in the registration of individuals applying to register in that State under the provisions of this Act.

REGISTRATION FORMS

SEC. 6. (a) The Administration shall prepare voter registration forms in accordance with the provisions of this section.

(b) Printed registration forms shall be designed to provide a simple method of registering to vote by mail. Registration forms shall include matter as State law requires and as the Administration determines appropriate to ascertain the positive identification and voter qualifications of an individual applying to register under the provisions of this Act, to provide for the return delivery of the completed registration form to the appropriate State official, and to prevent fraudulent registration. Registration forms shall also include a statement of the penalties provided by law for attempting fraudulently to register to vote under the provisions of this Act.

(c) A registration notification form advising the applicant of the acceptance or rejection of his registration shall be completed and promptly mailed by the State official to the applicant. If any registration notification form is undeliverable as addressed, it shall not be forwarded to another address but shall be returned to the State official mailing the form. The possession of a registration notification form indicating that the individual is entitled to vote in an election shall be prima facie evidence that the individual is a qualified and registered elector entitled to vote in any such election but presentation of the form shall not be required to cast his ballot.

DISTRIBUTION OF REGISTRATION FORMS

SEC. 7. (a) The Administration is authorized to enter into agreements with the Postal Service, with departments and agencies of the Federal Government, and with State officials for the distribution of registration forms in accordance with the provisions of this section.

(b) Any agreement made between the Administration and the Postal Service shall provide for the preparation by the Administration of sufficient quantities of registration forms so that the Postal Service can deliver a sufficient quantity of registration forms to postal addresses and residences in the United States and for the preparation of an ample quantity of such forms for public distribution at any post office, postal substation, postal contract station, or on any rural or star route.

(c) The Postal Service shall distribute the registration forms to postal addresses and residences at least once every two years not earlier than one hundred and twenty days or later than sixty days prior to the close of registration for the next Federal election in each State.

(d) The Administration is authorized to enter into agreements with the Secretary of each Military Department of the Armed Forces of the United States for the distribution of registration forms at military installations.

(e) This section shall not be construed to place any time limit upon the general availability of registration forms in post offices and appropriate Federal, State, and local government offices pursuant to agreements made under this section.

PREVENTION OF FRAUDULENT REGISTRATION

SEC. 8. (a) In addition to taking any appropriate action under State law, whenever a State official has reason to believe that individuals who are not qualified electors are attempting to register to vote under the provisions of this Act, he shall notify the Administration and request its assistance to prevent fraudulent registration. The Administration shall give reasonable and expeditious assistance in such cases, and shall issue a report on its findings.

(b) (1) Whenever the Administration or a State official determines that there is a pattern of fraudulent registration, attempted fraudulent registration, or any activity on the part of any individuals or groups of individuals to register individuals to vote who are not qualified electors, the Administration or a State official may request the Attorney General to bring action under this section. The Attorney General is authorized to bring a civil action in any appropriate district court of the United States or the United States District Court for the District of Columbia to secure an order to enjoin fraudulent registration, and any other appropriate order.

(2) The district court of the United States or the United States District Court for the District of Columbia shall have jurisdiction without regard to any amount in controversy, of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section.

PENALTIES

SEC. 9. (a) Whoever knowingly or willfully gives false information as to his name, address, residence, age, or other information for the purposes of establishing his eligibility to register or vote under this Act, or conspires with another individual for the purpose of encouraging his false registration to vote or illegal voting, or pays or offers to pay or accepts or offers to accept payment either for registration to vote or for voting, or registers to vote with the intention of voting more than once or votes more than once in the same Federal election shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(b) Any person who deprives, or attempts to deprive, any other person of any right under this Act shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(c) The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, are applicable to the registration form prepared under section 6 of this Act.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 10. (a) The Administration shall determine the fair and reasonable cost of processing registration forms prescribed under this Act, and shall pay to each appropriate State an amount equal to such cost per card multiplied by the number of registration cards processed under this Act in that State.

(b) The Administration is authorized to pay any State which adopts the registration form and system prescribed by this Act as a form and system of registration to be a qualified and registered elector for State elections in that State. Payments made to a State under this subsection may not exceed 30 per centum of the amount paid that State under subsection (a) of this section for the most recent general Federal election in that State.

(c) Payments under this section may be made in installments and in advance or by way of reimbursement, with necessary adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments.

REGULATIONS

SEC. 11. The Administration is authorized to issue rules and regulations for the administration of this Act. Such regulations may exclude a State from the provisions of this Act if that State does not require a qualified applicant to register prior to the date of a Federal election.

EFFECT ON OTHER LAWS

SEC. 12. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, any State that adopts the Federal assistance post card form recommended by the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 (50 U.S.C. 1451 et seq.) with respect to any category of its electors (1) shall, insofar as such electors are concerned, be deemed to be in full compliance with the provisions of section 6 of this Act, and (2) shall be eligible to receive payments of financial assistance from the Administration, as provided in section 10 of this Act, on account of the simplified and greater voting opportunities thereby granted to such electors.

(b) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to prevent any State from granting less restrictive registration or voting practices or more expanded registration or voting opportunities than those prescribed by this Act.

(c) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to limit or repeal any provision of (1) section 202 of the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970 (42 U.S.C. 1973aa-1), relating to expanded opportunities of registering to vote and voting for electors for President and Vice President; or (2) the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 (50 U.S.C. 1451 et seq.).

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE 39, UNITED STATES CODE

SEC. 13. (a) Section 3202(a) of title 39, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking out “and” at the end of clause (4);

(2) by striking out the period at the end of clause (5) and inserting in lieu thereof “; and”; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new clause:

“(6) mail relating to voter registration pursuant to sections 6 and 7 of the Voter Registration Act.”

(b) Section 3206 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

“(d) The Voter Registration Administration shall transfer to the Postal Service as postal revenues out of any appropriations made to the Administration for that purpose the equivalent amount of postage, as determined by the Postal Service, for penalty mailings under clause (6) of section 3202(a) of this title.”

(c) Section 404 of title 39, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking out “and” at the end of clause (8);

(2) by striking out the period at the end of clause (9) and inserting in lieu thereof “; and”; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new clause:

“(10) to enter into arrangements with the Voter Registration Administration of the General Accounting Office for the collection, delivery, and return delivery of voter registration forms.”

AMENDMENT TO TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE

SEC. 14. Section 5316 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(132) Administrator and Associate Administrators (2), Voter Registration Administration, General Accounting Office."

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 15. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums, not to exceed \$50,000,000, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Amend the title so as to read:

A bill to establish a Voter Registration Administration within the General Accounting Office for the purpose of administering a voter registration program through the Postal Service.

COMMITTEE ACTION

H.R. 8053 was introduced by Mr. Dent on May 22, 1973, as a companion measure to the Senate passed bill, S. 352. The Senate bill, introduced by Mr. McGee, was reported out of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee on March 27, 1973 (S. Rept. 93-91) and passed the Senate on May 9, 1973 by a vote of 57 to 37.

H.R. 8053 was referred to the House Administration Committee on May 22, 1973, and extensive public hearings were held on the bill by the Subcommittee on Elections on June 27, 28 and July 19, 25, 1973. The bill was moved from the Subcommittee and placed before the full Committee on November 15, 1973. After consideration of the bill H.R. 8053 and amendments to it, the full Committee, by a record vote of 15 to 10, ordered the bill reported, as amended, on November 15, 1973.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to encourage increased voter participation in the electoral process by facilitating the mode of voter registration.

WHAT THE BILL DOES

H.R. 8053 creates the Voter Registration Administration within the General Accounting Office. The Administration will be responsible for implementing a system of post card voter registration for Federal elections. Additionally, the Administration will collect, correlate, and publish information concerning elections and will provide assistance on a non-partisan basis to State officials concerning voter registration-by-mail and election problems generally.

Under the provisions of the bill, an individual will qualify to vote in Federal elections within a State if he fulfills the requirements of that State and is registered as provided. In preparing the registration forms, the Administration will include such information as is necessary to qualify one as a voter under State law and other information as deemed appropriate by the Administration to establish the positive identification and qualifications of a voter.

The Administration is authorized to enter into agreements with the Postal Service for the distribution of the registration forms throughout the country to "postal addresses and residences at least once every two years" between 60 and 120 days prior to the close of the State's registration for the next Federal election. Additionally, registration forms will be available at any post office or other postal station and will be distributed by the Military Departments at military installations. Distribution may also be made through other Federal agencies or departments or through State officials.

Upon completion of the required information by the applicant, the registration form shall be returned to the appropriate State or local election official. The State or local election official will be responsible for verification of the returned form, and shall promptly mail to the applicant a registration notification form which advises the applicant whether his registration has been accepted or rejected. Presentation of the registration notification form at the polls shall not be required as condition to cast one's ballot. Possession of such form, however, will be prima facie evidence that one is a qualified registered elector who is entitled to vote. The provisions of this bill are not intended to eliminate certain State requirements of party affiliation or declaration for obtaining primary ballots which are designed to prohibit cross party voting in primaries.

To help insure against abuses of this registration system, the bill provides that the Administration shall, at the request of a State official, provide assistance to such State in preventing fraudulent registration or voting within the State. It was the intention of the Committee that this assistance be on a non-partisan basis. In addition to the appropriate Federal criminal penalties and available actions under State law, the Administration or a State official may request the Attorney General to bring a civil action to enjoin fraudulent registration, attempted fraudulent registration or voting, or the procuring of fraudulent registration or voting by any individuals or groups of individuals. The bill additionally provides for severe criminal penalties of fines and imprisonment for the commission of various offenses relating to fraudulent registration and voting.

The cost of processing the required registration forms will be determined by the Administration and payments to the States will be made to cover the fair and reasonable costs of their processing registration forms for Federal elections. As an encouragement to the States to adopt this simplified mode of registration for all elections the Administration is authorized to pay to any State which adopts this system for State elections an amount up to 30% of the payment such State receives for processing registration forms for Federal elections.

The Administration is further authorized to promulgate regulations to carry out the provisions of this bill. Since the intent of the bill is to simplify and facilitate voter registration, a State or locality that does not presently require registration as a prerequisite to vote in Federal elections would not be affected by the requirements of the bill.

BACKGROUND

The major impetus for legislation in this area has resulted from the emerging concern over the steady decline in voter participation in our national elections over a number of years. During the hearings by the Subcommittee on Elections of the House Administration Committee, statistics were offered by various witnesses to the effect that voter participation in presidential elections has diminished from 64% of the voting age population in 1960, to 62.9% in 1964, 61.8% in 1968, and most recently, to approximately 55% in the 1972 presidential race.

Evidence offered by numerous witnesses who cited studies and opinions of various research organizations, civic groups, and other election experts tended to establish that the major causes for the lack of voter participation in elections are the difficulties and the barriers to voter registration.

As early as 1963 President Kennedy's Commission on Registration and Voter Participation concluded that "Restrictive legal and administrative procedures for registration and voting are a major reason for low participation." This conclusion was supported by a 1969 Gallup Poll which found that the predominant reason for nonparticipation of the electorate was that there were many obstacles to registration. Similarly, a 1972 study by the National League of Women Voters concluded that "Millions of American citizens fail to vote not because they are disinterested but because they are disenfranchised by the present election system." Most recently, a poll by the public opinion research firm of Daniel Yankelovich, Inc. found that three-fourths of those who did not vote in the previous presidential election had stated that they would have voted had they been registered. In further support of the position that additional people would vote if they could be registered, preliminary statistics of the Bureau of Census were offered to show that 87% of those citizens who did register stated that they had voted.

Much criticism has been offered by the press, civic leaders, Members of Congress, and political scientists towards an electoral process in a democracy which works to discourage registration by placing the burden of registration on the citizen rather than on the government.

It was noted in the hearings by numerous witnesses that in European democracies registration is "automatic" and is the responsibility of the government, much as the income tax procedure is in this country. The level of participation in the electoral process of these nations since World War II has averaged nearly 84% of the voting age population, which is 24 percentage points higher than that of our own country for the same period.

The existing registration laws in the various States have been criticised as unresponsive to the actual needs of a great majority of our citizens and have been cited as the predominant reason for non-participation by the electorate.

In addition to comments on specific incidents of administrative harassment, official indifference, or confusion from lack of uniformity among jurisdictions, various witnesses offered testimony that three-

fourths of the States presently do not provide for Saturday or evening registration during non-election months. Similarly, criticism was leveled at State laws which do not provide for additional registration hours during the election period or which discourage registration by providing for only a single registration site which may be overly inconvenient for a large segment of the population in the area.

It is believed that a simplified, convenient, and uniform system of registration will encourage greater numbers of citizens to register, and in turn, to vote in Federal elections. The post card registration system outlined in this bill is believed to be the most efficient method, that provides the greatest safeguards with the least disruption of established procedures, that will achieve the desired goals.

The post card system proposed in H.R. 8053 will work within the traditional framework of presently established election procedures of the various States and localities. The responsibility of the Federal agency will be for the distribution of the registration form and for providing backup in technical or legal assistance upon the request of State or local officials.

Return of completed registration forms by an applicant will be made to the appropriate State or local official, not to a Federal agency. The responsibility for the validation of application forms and for the verification of requested information with existing lists of addresses or signatures will remain with the traditional State or local officials.

Since no aspect of validation or verification of signatures or addresses upon registration will be eliminated by this bill, it is felt that the principal safeguards against fraudulent registration are provided. Furthermore, during the hearings numerous witnesses testified that from their own experiences fraud in the election process generally does not occur at the registration level, but at the voting booths and ballot box. It should be noted that present State or local procedures that designate offices which are designed to limit fraudulent voting, such as poll watches and challengers, will not be affected by the bill. Further, testimony of State and local election officials showed that jurisdictions which presently have no registration, such as North Dakota and certain jurisdictions in Minnesota, or that have registration by mail, such as Texas, have not experienced fraud in the election process in any measurable degree.

It is believed, in fact, that the incidence of fraud in the election process will be reduced by the provisions of the bill. In addition to the present State and local controls which have not been affected by the bill, a greater deterrent to fraud will be offered in the form of Federal criminal penalties of fines of up to \$10,000 or imprisonment for up to 10 years, or both, for acts concerning fraudulent registration or voting. These provisions will be backed up by the resources and expertise of Federal law enforcement which will be available to the States to protect against the possibilities of fraud.

The Committee feels that the post card registration system outlined by H.R. 8053 will retain the necessary degree of local control over election procedures and will assure substantial safeguards to protect against voter fraud while providing for the greatly needed reform to simplify registration procedures that will encourage increased voter participation in the electoral process.

SECTION BY SECTION SUMMARY OF THE REPORTED BILL

SHORT TITLE

The first section provides that this legislation may be cited as the "Voter Registration Act".

DEFINITIONS

Section 2 contains definitions of terms used in this legislation.

The term "Administration" is defined to mean the Voter Registration Administration established within the General Accounting Office by section 3 of this legislation.

The term "State" is defined to mean each of the several States, their political subdivisions, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and the District of Columbia.

The term "Federal office" is defined to mean the office of President, Vice President, an elector for President and Vice President, Senator, Representative, and Delegate to the Congress.

The term "Federal election" is defined to mean any biennial or quadrennial primary or general election and any special election held for the purpose of nominating or electing candidates for any Federal office, including any election held for the purpose of expressing voter preference for the nomination of individuals for election to the office of President and any election held for the purpose of selecting delegates to a national political party nominating convention or to a caucus held for the purpose of selecting delegates to such a convention.

The term "State election" is defined to mean any election other than a Federal election.

The term "State official" is defined to mean any individual who acts as an official or agent of a government of a State or political subdivision thereof to register qualified electors, or to conduct or supervise any Federal election in a State.

ESTABLISHMENT OF ADMINISTRATION

Section 3(a) establishes the Voter Registration Administration within the General Accounting Office.

Section 3(b) requires the President to appoint an Administrator (who will serve as the chief executive officer of the Administration) and two Associate Administrators, each of whom would be subject to Senate confirmation and would serve a four-year term, except that each of them would continue in office after the expiration of his term until a successor qualified and anyone appointed to fill a vacancy would serve only for the remainder of the term to which his predecessor was appointed. The two Associate Administrators cannot be members of the same political party.

(9)

DUTIES AND POWERS

Section 4 requires the new Voter Registration Administration to—

(1) establish and administer a voter registration program for all Federal elections;

(2) collect and analyze information concerning elections in the United States and arrange for the publication and sale of such information by the Government Printing Office (but such publication cannot disclose information permitting identification of individual voters);

(3) provide assistance to State officials concerning voter registration-by-mail and election problems generally;

(4) obtain such facilities and supplies, and appoint such personnel (in the competitive civil service), as may be necessary to carry out its duties under this legislation;

(5) hire experts and consultants on a temporary basis in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, which limits the procurement of such services by contract to not more than one year and also limits the compensation which may be paid to the daily equivalent of the highest rate payable under the General Schedule (currently about \$138);

(6) submit a report to the President and to the Congress on its activities under this legislation, and on voter registration and elections generally, immediately after each biennial general Federal election, and provide the Congress with such information as it may request from time to time; and

(7) take such other action as may be necessary and proper to carry out this legislation.

QUALIFICATIONS AND PROCEDURE

Section 5(a) provides that anyone who meets the voter qualifications of the State and is registered to vote under this legislation is entitled to vote in Federal elections in that State. Further, each State must provide for registration or other means of qualification of all residents who apply, not later than 30 days preceding any Federal election, to register or qualify to vote in such election.

Section 5(b) provides that the new Voter Registration Administration may, whenever a Federal election is held in a State, furnish personnel and other assistance requested by a State official to assist in the registration of individuals applying to register under this legislation.

REGISTRATION FORMS

Section 6(a) requires the Voter Registration Administration to prepare voter registration forms.

Section 6(b) requires that such forms be designed to provide a simple method of registering to vote by mail. Such forms must also include matter required by State law and matter determined by the Administration to be appropriate to (1) ascertain positive identification and voter qualifications of the applicant, (2) provide for return delivery to the appropriate State official, and (3) prevent fraudulent registration. Such forms must also include a statement of the penalties for fraudulent registration under this Act.

Section 6(c) requires the State official to complete and mail promptly to each applicant a registration notification form advising the applicant of the acceptance or rejection of his registration. Any registration notification form which cannot be delivered as addressed must be returned to the State official who mailed it and cannot be forwarded to another address. Presentation of the voter registration notification form cannot be required to cast a ballot, but possession of such a form indicating that the individual is entitled to vote in an election must be accepted as "prima facie" evidence that he is qualified, registered, and entitled to vote.

DISTRIBUTION OF REGISTRATION FORMS

Section 7(a) authorizes the Voter Registration Administration to enter into agreements with the Postal Service, with departments and agencies of the Federal Government, and with State officials for the distribution of registration forms.

Section 7(b) provides that any agreement with the Postal Service must provide for the preparation by the Voter Registration Administration of sufficient quantities of registration forms to enable the Postal Service to deliver such forms to postal addresses and residences in the United States plus an ample quantity for distribution at post offices and on rural or star routes.

Section 7(c) requires the Postal Service to distribute the registration forms to postal addresses and residences at least once every two years, not earlier than 120 days or later than 60 days before the close of registration for the next Federal election in each State.

Section 7(d) authorizes the Voter Registration Administration to enter into agreements with the Secretary of each Military Department for the distribution of registration forms at military installations.

Section 7(e) provides that this section shall not be construed to place any time limit on the availability of registration forms in post offices and in Federal, State, and local government offices pursuant to agreements made under this section.

PREVENTION OF FRAUDULENT REGISTRATION

Section 8(a) provides that, in addition to taking appropriate action under State law, a State official who has reason to believe unqualified individuals are attempting to register under this legislation must notify the Voter Registration Administration and request assistance to prevent fraudulent registration. The Administration is required to give reasonable and expeditious assistance in such cases and to issue a report on its findings.

Section 8(b) authorizes the Administration and a State official to request the Attorney General to bring action under this section, and authorizes the Attorney General to bring a civil action in any appropriate U.S. district court or the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia to enjoin fraudulent registration or to secure any other appropriate order. The district courts are given jurisdiction of actions brought under this section without regard to any amount in controversy.

PENALTIES

Section 9(a) provides that whoever knowingly or willfully gives false information to establish his eligibility to register or vote under this legislation, or conspires with another to encourage false registration or illegal voting, or pays or offers to pay or accepts or offers to accept payment for registration or for voting, or registers with intent to vote more than once or votes more than once in the same Federal election, shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

Section 8(b) provides that any person who deprives, or attempts to deprive, any other person of any right under this legislation shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

Section 8(c) provides that the provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, apply to registration forms prepared under this legislation. That section of the criminal code provides for a fine of not more than \$10,000, or for imprisonment for not more than 5 years, or both, for false or fraudulent statements or representations made knowingly and willfully in any matter within the jurisdiction of any department or agency of the United States.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Section 10(a) requires the Voter Registration Administration to determine the fair and reasonable cost of processing registration forms and to pay to each State an amount equal to the cost per form multiplied by the number of forms processed in that State.

Section 10(b) authorizes the Voter Registration Administration to make payments to States which adopt for State elections the registration form and system prescribed by this legislation, but payments to a State under this subsection may not exceed 30 percent of the amount paid that State under section 10(a) for processing registration forms for the most recent general Federal election in that State.

Section 10(c) provides that payments under this section may be made in installments and in advance or by way of reimbursement, with adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments.

REGULATIONS

Section 11 authorizes the Voter Registration to issue rules and regulations for the administration of this legislation and such regulations may exclude a State from the provisions of this legislation if that State does not require a qualified applicant to register before the date of a Federal election.

EFFECT ON OTHER LAWS

Section 12(a) provides that, notwithstanding any other provision of this legislation, any State that adopts the Federal assistance post card form recommended by the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 with respect to any category of its electors shall, as far as such electors are concerned, be deemed to be in full compliance with the provisions of section 6 of this legislation (relating to registration

forms), and shall be eligible to receive payments of financial assistance under section 10 of this legislation on account of the simplified and greater voting opportunities thereby granted to such electors.

Section 12(b) provides that nothing in this legislation shall be construed to prevent any State from granting less restrictive registration or voting practices or more expanded registration or voting opportunities than those prescribed under this legislation.

Section 12(c) provides that nothing in this legislation shall be construed to limit or repeal any provision of section 202 of the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970 (relating to expanded opportunities of registering to vote and voting for electors for President and Vice President) or the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE 39, UNITED STATES CODE

Section 13(a) amends section 3202(a) of title 39 of the United States Code, relating to penalty mail, to add a new clause (6) authorizing mail relating to voter registration under this legislation to be transmitted as official mail without prepayment of postage.

Section 13(b) amends section 3206 of title 39 of the United States Code, relating to reimbursement for penalty mail service, to add a new subsection (d) requiring the Voter Registration Administration to reimburse the Postal Service for penalty mail service authorized under the amendment made by subsection (a) of this section.

Section 13(c) amends section 404 of title 39 of the United States Code, relating to specific powers of the Postal Service, to authorize the Postal Service to enter into arrangements with the Voter Registration Administration for the collection, delivery, and return delivery of voter registration forms.

AMENDMENT TO TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE

Section 14 amends section 5316 of title 5 of the United States Code, relating to positions at level V of the Executive Salary Schedule (\$36,000 annually), to add the positions of the Administrator and two Associate Administrators of the Voter Registration Administration.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

Section 15 authorizes the appropriation of not more than \$50 million to carry out the provisions of this legislation.

CHANGES IN EXISTING LAW MADE BY THE BILL, AS REPORTED

In compliance with clause 3 of Rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, changes in existing law made by the bill, as reported, are shown as follows (existing law proposed to be omitted is enclosed in black brackets, new matter is printed in italics, existing law in which no change is proposed is shown in roman):

TITLE 39, UNITED STATES CODE

* * * * *

Chapter 4.—GENERAL AUTHORITY

* * * * *

§ 404. Specific powers.

Without limitation of the generality of its powers, the Postal Service shall have the following specific powers, among others:

(1) * * *

* * * * *

(8) To offer and pay rewards for information and services in connection with violation of the postal laws, and, unless a different disposal is expressly prescribed, to pay one-half of all penalties and forfeitures imposed for violations of law affecting the Postal Service, its revenues, or property, to the person informing for the same, and to pay the other one-half into the Postal Service Fund; **[and]**

(9) To authorize the issuance of a substitute check for a lost, stolen, or destroyed check of the Postal Service**[.]**; and

(10) *to enter into arrangements with the Voter Registration Administration of the General Accounting Office for the collection, delivery, and return delivery of voter registration forms.*

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Chapter 32.—PENALTY AND FRANKED MAIL

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§ 3202. Penalty mail.

(a) Subject to the limitations imposed by sections 3204 and 3207 of this title, there may be transmitted as penalty mail—

(1) * * *

* * * * *

(4) mail of State agriculture experiment stations pursuant to sections 325 and 361f of title 7; **[and]**

(5) articles for copyright deposited with postmasters and addressed to the Register of Copyrights pursuant to section 15 of title 17[.]; and

(6) mail relating to voter registration pursuant to sections 6 and 7 of the Voter Registration Act.

* * * * *

§ 3206. Reimbursement for penalty mail service.

(a) Except as provided in subsections (b) and (c) of this section, executive departments and agencies, independent establishments of the Government of the United States, and Government corporations concerned, shall transfer to the Postal Service as postal revenue out of any appropriations or funds available to them, as a necessary expense of the appropriations or funds and of the activities concerned, the equivalent amount of postage due, as determined by the Postal Service, for matter sent in the mails by or to them as penalty mail under authority of section 3202 of this title.

(b) The Department of Agriculture shall transfer to the Postal Service as postal revenues out of any appropriations made to it for that purpose the equivalent amount of postage, as determined by the Postal Service, for penalty mailings under clauses (1)(F) and (4) of section 3202(a) of this title.

(c) The Library of Congress shall transfer to the Postal Service as postal revenues out of any appropriations made to the Library for that purpose the equivalent amount of postage, as determined by the Postal Service, for penalty mailings under clause (5) of section 3202(a) of this title.

(d) *The Voter Registration Administration shall transfer to the Postal Service as postal revenues out of any appropriations made to the Administration for that purpose the equivalent amount of postage, as determined by the Postal Service, for penalty mailings under clause (6) of section 3202(a) of this title.*

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SECTION 5316 OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE

Chapter 53.—PAY RATES AND SYSTEMS

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SUBCHAPTER II—EXECUTIVE SCHEDULE PAY RATES

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§ 5316. Positions at level V

Level V of the Executive Schedule applies to the following positions, for which the annual rate of basic pay is \$36,000:

(1) * * *

* * * * *

(132) *Administrator and Associate Administrators* (2), *Voter Registration Administration, General Accounting Office.*

MINORITY VIEWS

The bill, H.R. 8053, entitled the "Voter Registration Act" comes before the House in the guise of a routine piece of legislation which would simplify procedures for registration and facilitate participation in the political process.

While the bill is both conceptually appealing and well-intentioned, closer analysis shows that it will raise havoc with election administration procedures, create chaos in the political process and disenfranchise many honest, innocent citizens.

If passed and implemented:

1. The "Voter Registration Act" (postcard registration) will do nothing to significantly increase either voter registration or voter turnout and may actually be counterproductive, disenfranchising many citizens who would normally be able to vote.

2. It will be an administrative nightmare for state and local officials, creating chaos in voter registration processes and wreaking havoc with election day procedures.

3. It will increase the potential of and offer unparalleled opportunity for fraud.

4. By increasing the possibilities for fraud and the likelihood of administrative chaos, postcard registration would probably force many state and local officials to switch to a system of no registration in federal elections. This action would allow any person to vote in a congressional primary or general election by simply going to the polls and presenting proper identification.

5. It will set up a new federal bureaucracy with almost unlimited authority to spend huge sums of the taxpayers' money.

6. It would take the time-honored responsibility for voter registration from the States and, in effect, give it to the federal government.

7. It could drastically change the structure of political parties and allow the federal government to dictate internal party regulations.

8. There was very little evidence presented in favor of postcard registration in the hearings. Proponents of this legislation failed to build a case for the bill in both the subcommittee and committee.

THE PROBLEM

In the United States, voter participation in federal elections has dropped precipitously from 64% in 1960 to 55% in 1972. In 1972 sixty-two million voting age Americans did not vote. This means that the President was elected by only about one-third of the voting age population.

While voter turnout was only 55% in the United States in 1972, in recent elections in other western democracies, the turnout was 72% in Britain, 75% in Ireland, 75% in Canada, 80% in France, 87% in West Germany and 89% in Sweden and Denmark. Taken together,

these figures indicate that turnout in other democracies averages almost 25% higher and that turnout in the United States is among the lowest in the world.

It is alleged that registration requirements make it difficult for some people to vote and may be partially responsible for low voter turnout.

H.R. 8053

The Voter Registration Act would establish a Voter Registration Administration in the Office of Federal Elections of the GAO for the purpose of administering a postcard voter registration program through the postal service. The Administration would have an Administrator and two Associate Administrators appointed to four year terms by the President with Senate confirmation. Between 120 and 60 days prior to the close of registration, the postal service will deliver postcard registration forms to every household in the United States. The forms will be prepared by the Voter Registration Administration and will be available in public places at other times. Citizens may register to vote in federal elections by filling out and mailing these cards to their local registration official(s).

When necessary, the Voter Registration Administration (VRA) will provide assistance to state officials to help administer the registration-by-mail program. The Voter Registration Administration (VRA) will investigate any reports of fraud and may request the Attorney General to bring action, with penalties ranging up to \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than five years or both. The VRA will determine and pay to the states and localities the cost of processing registration postcards. If a state or locality adopts the national registration system for its own state and local elections, the VRA is authorized to pay the state or locality an additional 30% of the processing costs. The budgetary limits are set at \$50 million.

POSTCARD REGISTRATION AND VOTER PARTICIPATION

Postcard registration will not significantly increase either voter registration or voter turnout. In fact, when implemented, it may actually be counterproductive, disenfranchising many citizens who would normally be eligible to vote.

In Committee, no witness or proponent of this legislation offered any proof that postcard registration will increase either voter registration or voter turnout.

After two years of studying state and local voter registration systems, Richard Carlson, Director of the Elections Systems Project of the National Municipal League, in testimony before the Subcommittee on Elections, stated:

H.R. 8053 may appear to be an improvement over the present practices, but it will not significantly increase registration levels. This bill would mandate mail registration for federal elections to the unfortunate exclusion of more effective methods of registration. Our analysis of registration has shown that door-to-door canvassing is consistently more successful in registering voters than mail registration. . . .

We feel that the primary benefit of a mail system will accrue to the mobile and educated sectors of our society who have the social skills necessary to make full use of mail registration opportunities. We doubt that a significant proportion of the presently unregistered population—the poor, minority groups and those with limited education backgrounds—will benefit from the system outlined in H.R. 8053. In short, it mandates a procedure that should not have great impact among habitually unregistered voters and should not, by itself, significantly increase registration and voting.

Several state and local officials and Dr. Richard Smolka, Director of the Institute of Election Administration and a leading expert on voter registration, expressed the belief that this bill will reduce overall voter turnout.

There are several ways that postcard registration could reduce voter turnout:

1. H.R. 8053 offers incentives and inducements to registration officials to eliminate all state and local registration activity and await the arrival of the postcard forms. State and local funds for registration would dry up, because state and local election officials would find it most difficult to ask their people for money when they are receiving federal funds for postcard registration. The face-to-face encounters of local registration drives are a far more effective means of registration than an impersonal postcard.

2. Past experience with address changes by postcard indicates that up to one-third of the postcards will be either illegible or incomplete. This problem is especially acute among the poor and lower middle class voters—the main target of the proposed legislation. If the name or address is incomplete or illegible, there is usually no way of finding out who sent the card in. The people who send in these illegible and incomplete cards will think they are registered when they are in fact not. On election day these people will be ineligible to vote.

3. Postcard registration would be dependent on the U.S. mail system which is both inefficient and unreliable. Mail service is especially bad in poor and lower middle class neighborhoods, where most pockets of low registration are located. With 150 million or more pieces of mail shuttling back and forth in the postal system, there will undoubtedly be considerable loss and confusion. Some people will be disenfranchised, because their cards will be lost or arrive too late to be processed.

4. States may decide to separate federal from state and local elections by scheduling the latter in odd number years as New Jersey and Virginia have done. The total separation of state and local elections from federal elections will reduce voter turnout in all elections.

5. Testimony before the Subcommittee on Elections indicated that most states would not adopt postcard registration for state and local races. If a voter's state did not adopt postcard registration for all elections, he would have to comply with two registration procedures—one for federal elections and another for state and local elections. Confusion would result when registrars and voters attempt to determine which persons are entitled to vote in all elections, which ones in federal elections, and which ones in state and local elections. Many

people would assume that they are registered for all elections, when in fact they are only registered for and can only vote in either state and local or federal elections. These registrants will be partially disenfranchised.

THE POSTCARD REGISTRATION MYTH

During recent weeks and months, proponents of this legislation have been able to create and perpetuate the myth that postcard registration will somehow magically alleviate the problem of low voter turnout. As one witness noted, this myth is largely without foundation:

As an incident to my analysis of the postcard registration proposal, I asked a member of my staff to review the various studies which have been made from time to time of voter turnout. As of this point, we are not aware of any study that has recommended Federal postcard registration as a solution to the problem of low voter turnout. I recognize that this is in direct contradiction of much of the opinion evidence that you must have received to date. I challenge proponents of this legislation to produce a scientific analysis of voter turnout which concludes that postcard registration will solve the problem of low voter turnout . . . Indeed, prior to the introduction of Senate legislation, I find no responsible suggestion that postcard registration would lead to greater voter participation or remedy the problem of low voter turnout.

Methods similar to postcard registration have proven to be ineffective means of improving voter turnout. For example, Texas has a system of coupon registration that is similar to postcard registration, but still has one of the lowest turnouts in the country.

The postcard registration myth is based on four fallacious assumptions:

1. Registration obstacles are the major obstacles to greater voter participation.

Actually, registration requirements are only one of many factors that contribute to low voter turnout. Education level, socio-economic class, motivation, alienation, apathy, lack of trust in government and other variables are equally important causes of low voter turnout. This assertion is supported by the following:

(a) North Dakota has no registration. South Dakota has the old traditional system of prior registration. Yet, South Dakota had a slightly higher voter turnout in 1972.

(b) With only two exceptions, recent studies indicate that voter apathy and alienation are far more important factors in low voter turnout. For example, the Census Bureau study of the 1972 elections found that 11% of those not registered did not register because they were aliens, approximately 6% did not register because of residence requirements, 43% indicated that they were not interested, approximately 8% indicated they disliked politics in general, 13% indicated they were unable to register and 15% gave a miscellany of reasons which were categorized as "other".

(c) The decade of the 1960's and early 1970's were times in which technical barriers to registration and voting fell one after the other. The poll tax was outlawed. Literacy tests were abandoned. State residency requirements were relaxed. Residency requirements for presidential elections were reduced to 30 days. A voter not meeting the residency requirements for presidential elections was allowed to vote by absentee ballot in his last state of residence. Absentee balloting was allowed in all presidential elections. In states such as Texas and Virginia, the long period between the closing of registration and election day was abandoned. Election officials made increasing efforts to register prospective voters. Precinct registration became more common. Yet, despite all of these efforts and the relaxation of requirements, voting turnout declined during the period 1960-72.

2. 90% of those people who are registered vote. Once the large masses of unregistered people are registered, they will vote.

The above figure is inaccurate. Only about 75% of those people who are registered vote. An individual who is registered is not necessarily going to vote. Presently, the most highly motivated people are registered. A person who does not have the ambition to go to a county clerk or registrar to register on any one of a hundred or more days is not likely to have the drive to get to the polls on election day. Furthermore, many of these people stay home because of apathy and hostility toward politics. Simply filling out a postcard will not change these ingrained behavior patterns.

3. Voter turnout in other western democracies is far higher than in the United States.

In fact, when comparable situations are analyzed, turnout in the United States is remarkably similar to that in other western democracies. Complex and significant differences between political systems and methods of computing voter turnout account for many of the apparent disparities between the U.S. and other countries.

4. Voting turnout is abysmally low in the U.S.—only 55% in 1972.

This figure is inaccurate. When aliens, the mentally ill, prisoners, ex-felons, invalid ballots, those disqualified by residency requirements, those who are ill on election day, those who do not vote for President etc. are properly accounted for, turnout is actually much higher.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

Proponents of H.R. 8053 do not seem to be fully aware of the administrative and logistical problems involved in the implementation of a national postcard registration system. The post office would have to mail out and state and local officials would have to process the equivalent of 500 stacks of postcards equal to the height of the Washington Monument. The Voter Registration Administration would not only have to deal with 50 state agencies, but would also need to exercise some degree of control over the more than 7,000 cities, counties and other units of local government, 173,000 precincts and 1,000,000 state and local election officials.

Illegibility.—There will be many illegible and incomplete postcards. Previous experience with postcard registration and address changes in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and the States of Washington, Hawaii

and Montana indicate that from one-tenth to one-third of the postcards returned to state and local officials will be returned either illegible or incomplete.

Experience has also shown that registration forms are not easily filled out no matter how simple they appear to be. For example, the better election officers train registrars to fill out forms accurately and completely and even these have a percentage of error.

In order to process the illegible and incomplete postcards, an interchange of correspondence will sometimes be necessary, a costly and time-consuming process. Even then, state and local officials will probably accumulate hundreds of thousands of postcards that will be completely unsuitable for processing because of illegible handwriting or insufficient information. These applicants will be surprised and dismayed on election day when they find out they are not registered to vote.

Dual registration.—Almost every state and local official that testified before the Subcommittee on Elections stated that postcard registration would result in dual registration systems. As a result, two sets of records would have to be maintained. It would be necessary to have separate ballots and voting machines: one set for federal elections and one set for state and local elections. There would be additional costs, additional clerks needed, and more room needed for expansion of registration books. This would entail an expense of many millions of dollars.

Presently, there are over 521,000 elected public officials in the United States of whom 535 are voting members of Congress. Approximately 999 out of every thousand elected officials are state and local officials. Under a dual registration system, citizens who register by postcard will only be able to vote in federal elections. These people will be disappointed or irate when they find out that they cannot vote for state and local offices.

Duplicate registration.—Duplicate registrations are another major problem. If registration postcards are distributed to every household, persons already on the registry lists will re-register, thus requiring a crash program of checking thousands of registrations in order to sort out the duplications.

People don't always follow instructions, sometimes signing their names in full and sometimes using names by which they are usually called or initials. What happens when an individual is registered in a precinct as William E. Smith and the clerk receives a postcard from the same address with W. E. Smith, W. Eldridge Smith or Bill Smith? If two similar names turn up from the same address, is it father and son, a relative residing at the same address or the same person? State and local registration officials will have to check out every apparent duplication. This process will be further complicated in some localities where there are thousands of Smiths and hundreds of William and W. E. Smiths. Furthermore, some apartment buildings which carry a single street address may have many people with the same name in them. For instance, the Hennepin County Auditor says that there are some high rise apartment buildings with literally dozens of Carl Andersons in them in the City of Minneapolis.

Inadequacy of mail addresses.—There is no way to identify by the post office address of the registrant what voting precinct or even what town he lives in. In parts of most states a zip code and city

address might include 4-5 towns and villages, and a greater number of precincts. Rural delivery route addresses which are designated by route numbers also include large numbers of voting precincts. Registration by postcard would provide no method of determining what precinct these people should vote in.

Dirty tricks.—Under postcard registration, pranksters, juvenile delinquents and other malicious individuals could obtain thousands of postcards and raise havoc with the registration system by filling out these postcards with fictitious names and addresses. Clerks would be forced to spend days and weeks sorting out the genuine applications from the fake ones.

Ascertaining where to send the postcard.—As the bill is now written, the Voter Registration Administration will probably be required to determine what state or local officials each and every postcard must be returned to. In states with centralized registration systems, this would be fairly simple. However, in states with localized registration, the Administration would have to determine the appropriate official in each locality to have the cards sent to. It might take hundreds of clerks many months to compile such a list. Furthermore, the Administration would have to print different postcards for each and every local registration jurisdiction. If the Administration also must make up forms for every state in a number of different languages, the total number of forms could total in the tens of thousands.

Lawsuits.—An immediate impact of H.R. 8053 will be a probable sharp increase in the number of lawsuits filed against the county clerks and boards of election commissioners. The bill does not provide legal assistance for these registrars and, when lawsuits are filed involving federal postcard registration, local prosecutors will undoubtedly refuse to be of assistance, claiming that the question is a federal one. The Department of Justice will have to increase its staff considerably in order to provide legal assistance to each of several thousand registration jurisdictions.

Size of the postcard.—Although it is frequently assumed that the postcard application will be the size of a postcard, the amount of information which must be written legibly upon the form requires that in all but a very few situations the form will be more nearly the size of a legal-size page. On each card there must be some explanation of basic election information such as: a statement of the penalties provided by law, a note that failure to register by party affiliation may result in disenfranchisement for a closed party election, etc.

Election day difficulties.—Few people are aware of the intricacies and complexities of the election administration processes. Hundreds of small but separate tasks must be performed correctly and in sequence or order to conduct a proper election. Each of these tasks, if neglected or if improperly performed as scheduled, may lead to a serious election day disorder.

Under postcard registration, if only 1% of the voters need election day clarification, thousands of telephone calls would come into state and local election offices. As telephone lines become tied up and officials and voters are unable to get through to determine registration status, the breakdown of the process begins. Long waiting lines develop, harassed precinct officials begin to lose their customary good nature, voters grow impatient, and hundreds, perhaps thousands of people are disenfranchised.

Opinion of state officials.—With all of these potential hassles and snafus, it is not surprising that a sizeable majority of state and local officials oppose postcard registration. In a poll of the Secretaries of State, only three felt that a system of federal postcard registration would be a better alternative than their current state system while 30 preferred their current system to the postcard registration system. In addition, eight secretaries felt that at a given cost other alternatives may be better than the postcard system, and three believed that any of the above systems would be acceptable. It should also be noted that the three secretaries that supported postcard registration are less intensely involved in the mechanics of registration than many of those who are opposed.

FRAUD

Postcard registration will increase the potential of and offer unparalleled opportunity for fraud.

On the floor of the Senate, the distinguished Senator from North Carolina, Mr. Ervin, called postcard registration, "a bill to encourage and proliferate fraud and steal elections throughout the United States . . . I cannot imagine a proposal that provides for a more efficacious way to practice fraud and steal elections than this bill. There is not a single protection in the bill against fraudulent voting, when we get down to the final analysis."

The American Civil Liberties Union and many state and local officials also believe that postcard registration will increase the opportunities and possibilities for fraud.

As a means of fraud prevention, it is customary to require a person who desires to register to vote to appear in person before the registrar, so that he can be asked questions pertinent to his qualifications. At the very least, this establishes that there is an actual person registering who can offer identification—not a fictitious name sent in by mail which, particularly in populous areas, will not be checked for veracity before the election. Postcard registration would do away with this custom.

The availability of registration forms would make it easy for a single individual to register an innumerable number of times with little chance of detection, simply by making multiple applications to various election boards.

Proponents claim that the bill preserves the most effective fraud prevention device that is widely used today—the ability to compare the signature of the voter at the polling place with the signature in the official files. However, states such as Virginia have no signature law. In these states, there will be no signature to compare with the signature on the postcard. This will, of course, open up avenues of fraud.

Under section 405(c) of the bill, possession of a registration notification form would be *prima facie* evidence that the individual is qualified to vote. This section would allow any individual to vote if he presents a notification of registration when he goes to the polls. However, this provision does not stipulate that the individual must vote in a particular precinct or polling place. Can a person simply go to the polling place of his choice and vote? If so, this section could open a pandora's box of fraudulent voting practices. Political machines and party organizations could counterfeit or steal registration notification

forms and send squads of political workers around to various polling places to cast illegal ballots. This raises an interesting question: would a state or local official be obliged to permit the holder of a form to vote even if he knows, of his own knowledge, that he lacks the necessary qualifications or is casting a fraudulent ballot?

With postcard registration, an individual could register by mail and vote by absentee ballot. Absentee ballots are already a major source of fraud. Postcard registration coupled with absentee balloting would open up obvious possibilities for fraud.

What is even more alarming than any of the above fraudulent practices, is the possibility that many honest, innocent citizens could be fraudulently disenfranchised. Party hacks, pranksters and corrupt state and local election officials could obtain stacks of these postcards and invalidate the registrations of many innocent citizens without their knowledge. This could be easily accomplished by filling out a postcard form which would have the effect of changing an innocent citizen's name, place of residence or party affiliation. It is likely that the citizen would become aware of this fact only when he went to the polls to vote, at which point nothing could be done to re-enfranchise him.

This possibility is not simply idle conjecture or theoretical guesswork. Between 1937 and 1943, political party workers in Philadelphia illegally filled out postcard address change forms for members of the opposite party, thereby in effect disenfranchising them and insuring their own party victory at the polls. This practice became so widespread that it was a major factor in the eventual demise and abolition of this system.

Furthermore, there is some question about the ability of the government to prosecute any one for fraudulent information which has been supplied on a postcard, because of the fact that the signature of the registrant will not be witnessed by either a notary public, employee of a local registration board or a member of the general public.

By greatly increasing the potential for fraud and administrative chaos, postcard registration may cause many state and local officials to throw up their arms in resignation and switch to a system of no registration in federal elections. This would mean that any person could vote in a congressional primary or general election by simply going to the polls and presenting proper identification.

Cost

Postcard registration will set up a new federal bureaucracy with almost unlimited authority to spend huge sums of the taxpayers' money.

The estimates of the annual cost of a national postcard registration system run all the way from \$15 to \$500 million. Most estimates fall into the \$30 to \$125 million range.

Some of these estimates may overlook some hidden costs. For example, section 403 provides that the Administration shall provide assistance to state and local officials concerning election problems generally. Apparently, this section would cover far more than just postcard registration. Does it mean that state and local officials can request assistance with the conduct of a municipal election, a school board election, as well as any subject matter pertaining to elections in

general if such elections are being conducted in connection with a federal election? This open-ended provision could result in federal takeover of the cost of conducting state and local elections. The cost of this provision could run into the tens of millions of dollars.

The bill would also force the Department of Justice to increase its staff considerably to handle the many lawsuits filed against state and local officials as a result of postcard registration. The Department would have to provide assistance to thousands of local jurisdictions at a cost of several million dollars.

IMPACT ON THE FEDERAL SYSTEM

Postcard registration could profoundly alter the federal structure in the area of election administration by taking the time-honored responsibility of voter registration from the States and, in effect, giving it to the federal government.

Voter registration qualifications and procedures have traditionally been left up to the states. Up to now, Congress has legislated in the field of registration only when it believed that voting rights were being violated by non-compliance with the due process or equal protection clauses of the Constitution. H.R. 8053 would overturn the long-standing practice of leaving to the states whenever possible the registration of voters.

H.R. 8053 would set up another federal bureaucracy with possible "Big Brother" overtones. The Voter Registration Administration might become a partisan agency, giving aid to its political allies while refusing to give aid and advice to its enemies. The Administration would have the resources and capabilities to develop and devise numerous sophisticated means of rigging and manipulating the electoral process.

The bill would give the postal service considerable discretion to determine and decide how many postcards to send to each address. Local post office officials are often notoriously politically partisan. They could pressure letter carriers into distributing postcards more liberally in areas where their political party would benefit most.

Section 409(a) of the bill states that state and local officials will process the registration forms, but that the Voter Registration Administration will determine the cost of the processing. What if there is disagreement? What if the costs of processing the cards exceed the Administration's estimates? Will state and local governments be forced to make up the difference?

Section 407 of the bill requires that each of the approximately one million state and local election officials as defined by the act request federal intervention in the registration process if they have reason to believe that individuals who are not qualified electors are attempting to register. Any one of these one million state and local officials could use this provision to block the registration of students, blacks and other minorities. This provision would severely cripple the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970. By the time the Voter Registration Administration could fully investigate and check the validity of the state or local official's complaint, registration would probably be closed and election day may have passed. Postcard registration could make it even more difficult

for students, blacks and other minorities to gain full access to the ballot.

EFFECT ON THE POLITICAL PARTIES

Section 404(a) provides that an individual who is eligible to vote under State law shall be entitled to vote in federal elections in that state. Section 405 states that the possession of a registration notification form indicating that an individual is entitled to vote in an election shall be *prima facie* evidence that the individual is a qualified and registered elector entitled to vote in *any* such election.

This language seems to have two effects. First, it would allow all persons registered to vote under the provisions of this law to participate in party primaries and party caucuses, regardless of state and local party regulations. Secondly, it may preempt party practices and regulations, including those that allow young people under the age of 18 who are ineligible to register under state law to participate in party caucuses and similar activities.

PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

At a time when the general public is increasingly suspicious of the political process and there is an almost uniform distrust of government, Congress would be ill-advised to pass a system that may further exacerbate this situation. If postcard registration results in widespread fraud, some of the public's worst suspicions about politicians will be confirmed. If an individual goes to the polls and finds that his name is not on the registration lists, he will only become more distrustful of the government and more alienated from the political process.

Without honest, well run elections, the civil rights of qualified voters are violated and public trust in the electoral process is impaired. When that happens, one of the primary missions of the election, that of legitimizing the government, is defeated.

CONCLUSION

There was very little evidence presented in favor of postcard registration in the hearings. In the House hearings, the testimony of people who would have to administer the law was uniformly and strongly unfavorable. The testimony of political scientists was also unfavorable. Testimony in favor of the bill came principally from groups who have been active in registration drives, and who would like the opportunity to have their own people be able to register voters. None of the favorable testimony produced any evidence that the bill would in fact increase registration or voting, with the exception of a single witness from a student voting group. That witness, Ridley Whitakes, presented evidence showing that his group could register more students more easily under this bill. However, he offered no solid evidence showing that those registered under the procedures of this bill might actually vote.

Proponents of this legislation failed to build a case for the bill in both the subcommittee and committee. In fact, hardly a good word was said about the bill.

Registration requirements are a problem. They do prevent some people from voting. However, the Minority agrees with the National Municipal League that this is not a problem that can be best solved at the national level.

The States are rapidly improving, modernizing and liberalizing their registration systems. The federal government can best aid this trend by non-interference or by approving a system of grants to the states to improve voter registration procedures. These are far better alternatives than postcard registration.

Maryland and Minnesota will both soon have postcard registration systems. Congress can look to these states as laboratories. If postcard registration succeeds in these states and the states begin to lag in the reform of their registration processes, then a federal system of postcard registration can be initiated.

The Minority agrees with the American Civil Liberties Union, with the overwhelming majority of Secretaries of States, with the vast majority of state and local election officials and with the leading experts in the field of voter registration. Postcard registration is a bill full of deficiencies, flaws and pitfalls. It is a bill that will raise havoc with election administration procedures, create chaos in the political process, open up all kinds of avenues for fraud, and disenfranchise untold thousands of honest, innocent citizens. It is a bill which should be and must be soundly defeated.

WM. L. DICKINSON.

SAMUEL L. DEVINE.

JIM CLEVELAND.

JAMES HARVEY.

PHILIP M. CRANE.

JOHN H. WARE.

BILL FRENZEL.

CHARLES E. WIGGINS.

JIM HASTINGS.

HAROLD V. FROEHLICH.

ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF CONGRESSMAN BILL FRENZEL

BACKGROUND

About 38 million Americans were unregistered in 1972. Many people, including the sponsors of this bill, believe that a substantial proportion of those who were unregistered, really wanted to vote, but found registration procedures too difficult. Most of our witnesses did not agree.

History and experience are usually the best teachers, but, in this field, their lessons are obscure. Voter participation peaked in the Presidential election of 1960 and has decreased since then in spite of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, a number of court decisions, and improved registration systems in many States. As registration has become easier, the percentage of voter participation has become less. It is small comfort to know that the parliamentary democracies of Western Europe are experiencing the same trend.

Obviously, it takes more than registration to attain high voter participation. It takes good candidates, good races, good voter information programs, and a general feeling that everyone's vote counts.

The State of Washington achieves a remarkable participation through its informational mailing. It has been willing to pay for informational mailings, but it has not mailed post cards.

Puerto Rico achieves 95% voting participation using a variety of techniques. Canada has an excellent record, too, stemming from a national program of face-to-face registration.

There is, or ought to be, a Congressional mandate to try to register every person who wants to vote. There is, or ought to be, also a mandate to use the most effective system to achieve high registration and high voter turnout. Unfortunately, H.R. 8053 does not meet the mandate.

THE DEFECTS OF H.R. 8053

1. *Fraud*.—According to testimony of local election officials, the possibility for fraud is great under the post card system. Fraud potential is a valid criticism of any system which invites registration without contact between registrant and registrar, but H.R. 8053 has other far more objectionable features.

2. *No help to disadvantaged*.—The bill is supposed to help register illiterate, itinerant, disadvantaged, alienated, foreign-speaking or minority people. Testimony showed that the mailing of post cards would be ineffective for people who don't have regular mailing addresses, who avoid official mail, and who don't understand complicated forms. Since the Committee eliminated the foreign language card, it surely won't help those who don't understand English.

It will, however, be just wonderful for the mobile, affluent, typically suburban population which would have registered anyway. These people will have a much easier time.

3. *Least effective registration system.*—Of all the registration techniques, post card registration is the least likely to produce new registrations and the least likely to produce new voters. Registrars will be hopelessly snarled in processing post cards from people already registered. They won't have the time to expand, or experiment with, more promising registration plans.

Experienced witnesses felt face-to-face registration was the single best technique. Putting trained registrars in schools, shopping centers, and other public places, or actually sending trained registrars door-to-door produces not only new registrants, but new voters. So does expanding regular registration sites, and hours.

Voter education is also important. Any federally financed program which overlooks information systems, like the State of Washington uses, is overlooking the real goal, which is increased voter participation.

4. *Army of untrained registrars.*—Anyone who can get his or her hands on some post cards—and the bill provides for leaving them in public places—can register anybody else. Registration can be in the hands of people who don't even know the precinct lines.

Proponents claim there is widespread support for this form of registration but, the State of Washington rejected a similar provision in the last election by 71%. The question was whether Republican and Democrat officials should be allowed to register voters. The people of Washington rejected selected untrained registrars. H.R. 8053 asks for any old untrained registrars.

5. *Dual registration systems.*—Testimony from the National Officers of the Secretaries of State Association strongly reinforced statements from several states that they would have to go to a dual registration system. The national post card system, paid by the Federal Government, would be too confusing for local elections, would cost too much or would be contrary to state law. Especially strong statements were heard from Missouri and Virginia that their states would be forced to dual systems.

6. *Disenfranchisement.*—Testimony also showed dual systems and confusion would lead to disenfranchisement of voters. A voter properly registered under the post card system would not necessarily be registered under the state system. He might present himself to vote in a local election and be denied. A more likely case, and a worse one, would be the voter who returns his card to the wrong registrar, or with insufficient information, or with any error. He will assume he is registered, and may find he is not.

7. *Secretaries of State opposed.*—The Association of Secretaries of State passed a resolution at its annual meeting urging that this type bill not be passed. The Associations' resolution and a recent wire from its President are attached. My mail and telephone poll of Secretaries showed 30 opposed, only 3 in favor, and 8 felt other alternatives would be better than post cards.

With people who know registration best, post cards are for the birds!

8. *Local confusion, frustration and wasted resources.*—State and local officials told the Subcommittee about some of their problems. These are spelled out in the minority report and also detailed in a following section on how the bill works.

These are only a few of the horror stories. They are not only probable under this bill, but inevitable.

HEARINGS

H.R. 8053, the Post Card Registration Bill was introduced on May 22. S. 352 (McGee bill), its Senate counterpart was passed May 9. House hearings began June 27.

Hearings in the Senate were confined mostly to friendly witnesses. The testimony was mostly a discussion of the concept, rather than the operation of the law. Of the 18 witnesses, only 4 were local election officials.

House hearings were careful and complete. Labor Union and Student vote witnesses endorsed the bill as they did before the Senate. The hearings produced little usable testimony as to whether new registrants, if any, would vote.

After the favorable testimony, the Subcommittee heard a parade of highly critical witnesses.

Local registrars predicted widespread fraud.

State officials said that the bill would force states into dual registration systems and potential voter disenfranchisement, because of the two-system confusion.

Political scientists testified that mailing post cards was not an effective way to increase registration, and that other effective ways do exist.

The National Municipal League testified that the bill would be counterproductive because it would aid the mobile, affluent, voter but do nothing for those really frustrated by registration problems.

COMMITTEE VOTES

On September 6, after completion of the hearings, the House Elections Subcommittee laid the bill on the table by voice vote.

At the next Subcommittee meeting on October 10, a motion was made to take the bill off the table. It failed 5-5. This was a recorded vote with proxies.

On October 16, another motion was made to take the bill off the table and report it to the full Committee without recommendation. It passed 6-4 on a recorded vote with proxies.

The bill was considered by the full Committee on November 15. Because the Subcommittee vote was subject to a point of order, H.R. 8053 was called from the Subcommittee and presented to the Committee by a recorded 12-11 vote. There was no recommendation from the Subcommittee.

All Committee discussion dealt with amendments, not with the bill. The bill was voted out of Committee, 15-10, after an hour's discussion on the amendments.

It was passed without description, or even a good word.

HOW THE POST CARD BILL WILL WORK

There are too many uncertainties to predict with any accuracy how the bill will work, but here's my guess based on the bill as it was reported by the Committee. The numbers are purely illustrative, but no one has come up with better ones.

1. *February*—(a) Hire administrator, 2 deputies, a half-dozen registration lawyers, people to respond to requests as required by the bill, clerks, receptionists, secretaries, etc. We'll be lucky if *Annual Personnel Costs* are \$600,000. (b) Rent suitable offices (12,000 feet); equip in the usual style for a 40-person staff; furnish supplies and set up travel budget. *Annual Office and Travel Costs: \$150,000.*

2. *March and April*—(a) Consult with 50 Secretaries of State as to form of cards and negotiate form for each state. (Remember, there's no arbitration process.) Travel to all states. (b) Establish form of card. First decide whether to pay return postage. The bill doesn't say. Decide against because we don't even know to whom to return it, and we don't have enough money. (c) Print 200,000,000 cards in different forms for each state. For this and printing of instructions, posters, etc. *Biennial Cost: \$2,200,000.*

3. *June and July*—(a) Deliver 130,000,000 cards to Post Office. Post Office delivers one to each eligible voter at each postal address. How does the Post Office know this? It doesn't, but it does its best, and it's a bargain at a nickel each. *Biennial Cost: \$6,500,000.* (b) As required by the bill, GAO distributes rest of cards to Post Office and other public buildings where no one knows anything about registration and where much uninformed advice is available free. *Biennial Cost: \$200,000.* (c) Candidates, political parties, League of Women Voters, AFL-CIO, and Student Vote groups clean out all cards from public places in 30 days and begin private registration drives. *Biennial Cost: 0.*

4. *July and August*—(a) Cards arrive at mail boxes. Registered people fill them out "just to be sure". Unregistered people think they are bills, summons or draft notices, and throw them away. 50% of cards (65,000,000) are returned via 1st Class Mail. *Biennial Cost: \$6,500,000.* (Cost is private, not public, and cheaper than a trip to City Hall.)

5. *August and September*—(a) Registrars receive most of 65,000,000 cards. Unknown percentage is lost in mail. $\frac{1}{3}$ (20,000,000) will be incomplete; 85% (55,000,000) will be already registered; 12% (8,000,000) will be changes of address; 3% (2,000,000) will be new registrants.

6. *August and September*—(a) Registrars check out 20,000,000 incomplete cards. Mail back, or call. Time to handle cards, make calls or mail adds up to *Biennial Cost: \$6,000,000.* 1,000,000 new registrants can't be reached.

7. *August and September*—(a) Registrars check out 52,000,000 cards already registered at 20¢ each. *Biennial Cost: \$10,400,000.* (b) Registrars note 7,000,000 changes of address at 30¢ each. *Biennial Cost: \$2,100,000.* (c) Registrars register 1,000,000 new registrants at 50¢ each. *Biennial Cost: \$500,000.*

8. *September and October*—(a) Registrars mail notification forms back to 60,000,000 voters. It's late, but use bulk mail anyway. *Biennial Cost: \$3,000,000.*

9. *September, October*—(a) 5% (3,000,000) of cards are returned to registrars as undeliverable. Check them out at 50¢ each. *Biennial Cost: \$1,500,000.*

10. *August, September, October*—(a) Party officials and candidates request registration assistance from Washington. Local registration officials relay request. GAO complies under the bill. *Biennial Cost: ????*

11. *October*—(a) Local registration officials, in response to candidates demands, request assistance from Attorney-General who complies as provided by the bill. *Biennial Cost: ????*

12. *October*—(a) Local registrars execute fraud control procedures. They investigate 3% of new post card registrants (30,000); 2% of address changes (140,000); 2/10 of 1% of previously registered (102,000). *Biennial Cost: \$400,000*. Average fraud checks per state is only about 5,400. Not enough personnel or money available for real investigation.

13. *October*—(a) Local officials increase training of election officials. Train one judge for every other precinct at \$5.00 per judge. Also add extra personnel in key precincts where registration difficulties are expected (2% of precincts). *Biennial Cost: \$600,000*.

14. *November*—(a) Local officials petition Attorney-General for more help.

15. *Post-November*—(a) GAO assembles and publishes election data. *Biennial Cost: ????*

COST ANALYSIS

Nobody really can say what the true costs of this bill will be. Senator McGee estimates the costs at \$30–35 million; Senator Fong at \$100,000,000; others as high as \$500,000,000. I've spent as much time with it as anybody, and I just don't know.

However, using the scenario previously mentioned, a highly speculative estimate might be as follows:

	Annual	Biennial
Administrative costs—Federal	\$750,000	\$1,500,000
Printing.....		2,200,000
Postage—Post card to voters.....		6,500,000
Other card distribution.....		200,000
Cardhandling by registrars:		
(a) Incompletes.....		6,000,000
(b) Already registered.....		10,400,000
(c) Address changes.....		2,100,000
(d) New registrations.....		500,000
Postage—Registration card to voter.....		3,000,000
Cardhandling—Undeliverable cards.....		1,500,000
Registration assistance.....		?
Attorney general assistance.....		?
Fraud checks.....		400,000
Training and extra judges.....		600,000
Publication of election data (tradeoffs with Census).....		?
Total.....	750,000	34,900,000

\$34,900,000 would seem to be the least possible cost. Figuring another way, one might guess that one extra person would be added to each of the 173,000 precincts for two months only at \$500 per month (about \$3.00 per hour). That makes \$173,000,000 plus the administrative and mailing costs or a total of \$186,000,000.

Another possibility is to take a town like my own—assume a 50% card return, and a clerk's time to process each card, including handling, checking, phoning, mailing, or whatever. Assuming 15 minutes per card at the local municipal wage, the cost to my village would be about 37¢ per person. A similar national experience would yield a cost of \$81,400,000 plus administrative costs or \$94,000,000.

Take any of these estimates you like. I have little confidence in any of them. Then add 30% to the states as required by the bill. Then consider that if money were available, H.R. 8053 authorizes this weird process for every Federal election, not just the general elections. Whatever number you get will likely be more than the Appropriations Committee will provide.

RECAPITULATION

No matter how you look at this bill, it's a loser! If our intention is to register more people, there are better ways to do it. On the other hand, if our intention is to mess up our states' registration systems, then post cards are the best way. Obviously, the bill should not pass.

I intend to offer a series of amendments, of which one will be a substitute. I do not believe that any amendment can make this bill a worthwhile registration effort. The amendments, however, are intended to improve the bill so that the disaster will be less complete.

Even if they are accepted, the bill will still be unworthy of passage.

My substitute will give local people what the Secretaries of State say they need to improve registration. It will provide about the same amount of money authorized in H.R. 8053, but funds will be given directly to the states for improved or new registration efforts. Monies will be based on the number of eligible voters. A telegram from the President of the National Secretaries of State Association endorsing this proposal is attached.

Bill Frenzel.

Attachment.

RESOLUTION

Whereas, elections for local, state and federal officers are conducted by, and under the election laws of, the respective states and;

Whereas, the proper administration and effectiveness of the elections process depends upon the maintenance of a single and coordinated system for the election of all public officials and;

Whereas, the Congress of the United States has evidenced ever-increasing involvement and interest in the elections process, now, therefore

Be it *Resolved* by the National Association of Secretaries of State that the Congress, and all federal officials who prepare rules and regulations affecting elections, are hereby memorialized and requested to confer with representatives of the National Association of Secretaries of State, and the chief elections officials of the respective states, to the end that every effort be made to continue to provide unified and single laws, rules and procedures for all elections, rather than a dual system—one for federal officials, and another for state and local officials, and that the states be permitted to continue to adopt uniform laws applicable to all types of elections.

Be it further *Resolved*, That the Congress is hereby memorialized and requested that any funds it appropriates for elections or registration should be appropriated in the form of "bloc" rather than categorical grants.

Be it further *Resolved*, That no federal election legislation should attempt to place federal work assignments and responsibilities on state and local officials or employees except in audit procedures instituted on federal grants made to the states or other local governments or local governmental subdivisions.

Be it further *Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the members of the Congress of the United States.

This resolution initially proposed by Wade O. Martin, Jr., Secretary of State, Louisiana.

Approved by:

WADE O. MARTIN, Jr.,
Secretary of State, Louisiana, Chairman.

[Telegram]

CAPITOL BUILDING,
Jefferson City, Mo., November 27, 1973.

HON. BILL FRENZEL,
*House of Representatives,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.*

GOOD MORNING CONGRESSMAN FRENZEL: We understand that Congressman Bill Frenzel plans to introduce a substitute to H.R. 8053, the National Post Card Voter Registration bill.

As president of the National Association of Secretaries of State, we heartily endorse this move. The substitute will provide for a bloc grant to the States to improve their election and registration machinery, administered by the State's chief election officer.

Such a proposal will be well received by the Secretaries of State. The same Secretaries have been unanimous in their opposition to the administrative nightmare which would be caused by H.R. 8053. That bill will create dual systems of registration and cause tremendous inconvenience and confusion to the voters of America.

Most professional election administrators are aghast at problems it could cause, and anticipate the breakdown on election day of our State election machinery.

We strongly urge you to give favorable consideration to any alternative to H.R. 8053. Congressman Frenzel's bill, appears to be most appealing.

JAMES C. KIRKPATRICK,
Missouri Secretary of State.

Be it further Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the members of the Congress of the United States.
This resolution initially proposed by Wm. O. Murray, Jr.
of State, Louisiana
Approved by:

Wm. O. Murray, Jr.
Secretary of State, Louisiana

Telegrams

Carroll, Louisiana
Wm. O. Murray, Jr., Secretary of State

Mr. Bill Franklin
Director of the
Louisiana State Police
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Mr. Franklin: I am very sorry to hear that you are unable to attend the National Police Conference in New Orleans. I am sure that you will find the conference very profitable and interesting. I am sure that you will find the conference very profitable and interesting. I am sure that you will find the conference very profitable and interesting.

The National Police Conference is a very important conference for the police of the United States. It is a conference where the police of the United States can meet and discuss the problems of the police of the United States. It is a conference where the police of the United States can meet and discuss the problems of the police of the United States.

Very truly yours,
Wm. O. Murray, Jr.
Secretary of State

Wm. O. Murray, Jr.
Secretary of State

ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF CONGRESSMAN ORVAL HANSEN

The bill, H.R. 8053, may have several harmful effects on the election administration procedures in my home state—Idaho. I would like to bring these possible flaws to the attention of other Members, because their states could have similar problems.

Perhaps the chief argument used in support of this measure is that existing state registration systems serve as an obstacle to voter participation. This is certainly untrue in Idaho, where almost 90% of our voting population is now registered.

If H.R. 8053 is passed, it would force Idaho to scrap its recently implemented registration system, or go to a dual registration system.

If the present system is abandoned, it will cost my state a great deal of money. In larger states, abandoning the present system of registration could cost millions of dollars.

If Idaho switches to a dual system of registration, many voters will be confused. They will not know if they are registered for all elections, just federal elections or just state and local elections. Many people in my state would be acutely disappointed if they registered by postcard and found out that they could not vote in the many important state and local elections.

The Secretary of State of Idaho feels that this bill does not have sufficient safeguards to prevent fraud.

Idaho is presently fulfilling its obligation to facilitate the registration of prospective voters. Why should Idaho be forced to submit to greater federal control of its election registration machinery? Federal intervention may be disruptive and could make it difficult for Idaho to continue to register as many people as it has registered in the past.

ORVAL HANSEN.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of growth and change. It begins with the first settlers who came to the shores of North America in search of a new life. These early pioneers faced many hardships, but they persevered and built a new society. Over time, the United States grew from a small colony into a powerful nation. It fought wars, both with and without, and emerged as a global leader. The story of the United States is one of resilience and innovation, of a people who have shaped the course of history.

The United States has a rich and diverse heritage. It is a land of many cultures, languages, and traditions. The people of the United States have made significant contributions to the world in many fields, including science, art, and literature. The history of the United States is a testament to the power of the human spirit and the ability of a nation to overcome adversity. As we look to the future, we can draw inspiration from the past and strive to create a better world for all.